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NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 23, 1955

2-DAY HUNGER STRIKE

Belfrage jailed after he loses deportation plea

By Lawrence Emery

AFTER FOUR DAYS in a federal prison, during two of which he was on a hunger strike, GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage appeared in court on a writ of habeas corpus on Tues., May 17, and won the right to have his demand for bail considered separately from a review of an Immigration Board of Appeals order for his immediate deportation.

The Board's ruling, upholding a deportation order issued last Dec. 9, was announced in Washington on Thursday, May 12. Less than 15 hours later Belfrage, who had been free in $5,000 bail for two years, was seized and jailed in New York. The swiftness of the seizure, the effort to keep it secret, the termination of bail without notification to his attorney, and his incarceration in a prison without the elementary privileges accorded convicted criminals, all set new precedents in a political deportation case.

THE "STATUS QUO": Immigration Service attorney Harold Raby argued that Federal Judge A. O. Dawson, before whom the bail question was heard, had no authority to change Belfrage's "status quo," his status quo being at the moment a prisoner. But Judge Dawson said:

> "If I have any power to release this man on bail it is my inclination to do so."

After lengthy discussion of the legal issues of the matter, the Judge decided to take it under advisement over night and set another hearing on it for Wed., May 18, at 2 p.m. in his chambers. He seemed concerned at the government's insistence that Belfrage be kept under lock and key and at one point asked:

> "What is this man? Would he be a danger to the nation?"

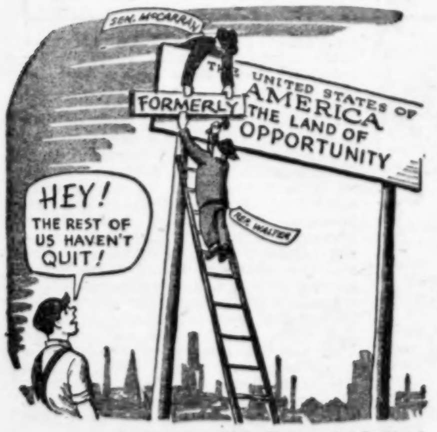
He seemed ready to grant bail at once, calling it an "ancient Anglo-Saxon right," but decided to check the law governing his own powers in the situation. If he determines he hasn't the authority to grant bail, the question will be taken immediately to the Court of Appeals.

Further argument on the defense demand for a court review of the deportation order was scheduled for Tues., May 24.

HOW HE WAS SEIZED: Belfrage was seized at 9:30 in the morning by two Immigration Service men who were waiting for him in front of his home—he was on his way to pick up a friend's car to drive into the country for a much-needed weekend rest. The arresting officers hustled him into their car and prepared to drive off; when Belfrage insisted that his wife must be informed that he was seized, they refused. But he kicked up such a fuss that one of them went to the door and told Mrs. Belfrage that her husband was being held.

It was only because of this that Bel-

(Continued on Page 5)


SEN. McCARRAN
FORMERLY
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY
REP. WALTER
HEY! THE REST OF US HAVEN'T QUIT!

CIO Economic Outlook

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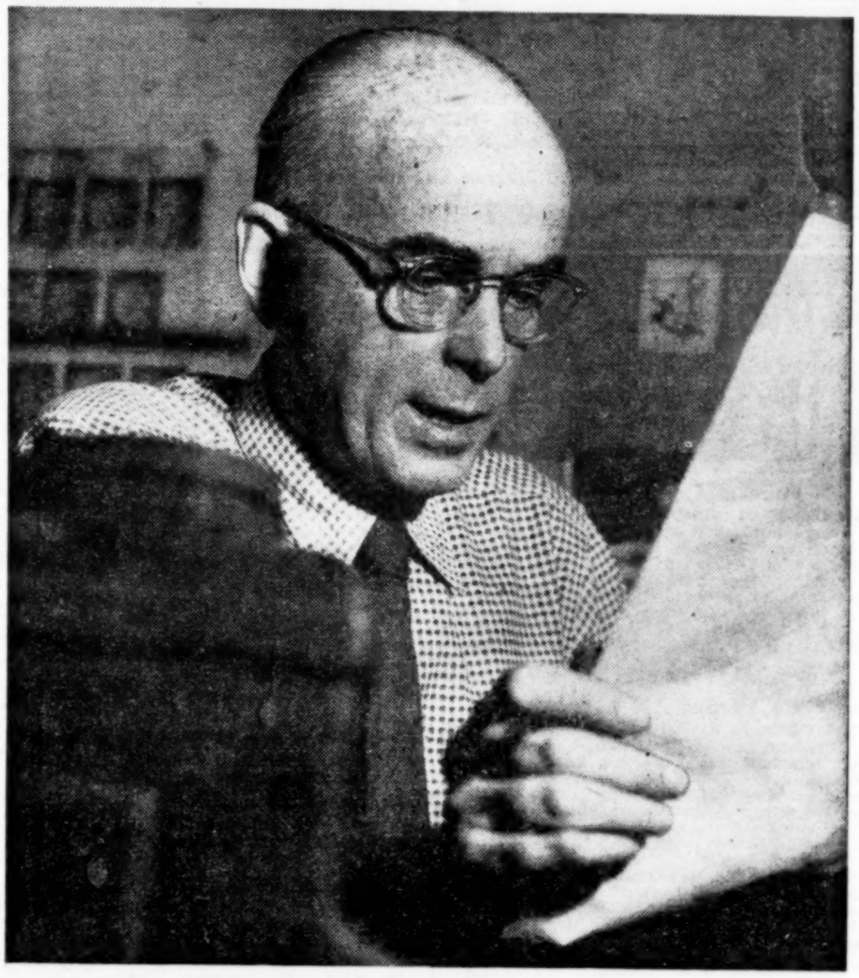

The "crime" of Cedric Belfrage: Anti-fascism

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The target is the Guardian

ALMOST OVERNIGHT, the GUARDIAN has been thrown into the center of a pitched battle in which it must fight almost single-handed for the freedom of the press in America.

This is the deep implication of the attack on Cedric Belfrage, editor of this non-conformist publication, now ordered deported under a law which provides for special victimization of foreign-born Americans for holding or fostering dissenting political views.

Thus overnight, too, the GUARDIAN finds itself the principal adversary in the arena of American justice and fair play today against the Walter-McCarran Law itself, under which Belfrage's deportation has been ordered.

With a whole effort on our part—which must and will call for repeated and unstinting help from you—this fight can be won: for the GUARDIAN's right to publish and Belfrage's right to edit it; and for the ultimate defeat of the law which President Truman, in his historic veto message of 1952, called "worse than the infamous Alien Act of 1798."

- **The decision of the Board of Immigration Appeals (see p. 5) states quite frankly that Belfrage is found deportable solely on the charge he was a Communist in 1937—15 years prior to the enactment of the Walter-McCarran Law.**

- **The action of the regional immigration director, immediately confining him in a federal penitentiary, was taken for the additionally assumed reason (see p. 4) that he is engaged in activities affecting the national security: i.e., editing the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.**

- **The GUARDIAN obviously does not possess the surplus resources to conduct the court fight necessary to ward off these attacks; the fight-back must be conducted with resources seriously overtaxed to meet the costs of weekly publication. Thus the attack on freedom of the press becomes economic as well political, in the evident expectation that the GUARDIAN will collapse under the burden of defending its editor and seeking to continue publication.**

TOGETHER WE CAN, in the words of the ancient anthem, "frustrate their knavish tricks." The GUARDIAN has resources which the enemy never can estimate—a readership which has done the impossible time after time: saving the Trenton Six from execution; mounting the historic, worldwide clemency fight for the Rosenbergs; as well as boosting this paper back on the high road many more times than anyone outside the family can know about.

The Belfrage Case now takes on the proportions of these other great efforts. That Belfrage was selected for victimization because of his editorship of the GUARDIAN is not a matter of guesswork. His frank and outspoken anti-fascism has been widely read and well-known and went unchallenged for 16 years.

It was only after the GUARDIAN, under Belfrage's editorship since 1948, had made its mark by challenging the Korean War and initiating the Rosenberg protest, that Belfrage's "past" began to count against him.

- **The informer Martin Berkeley admittedly added Belfrage's name to a list of alleged Hollywood Communists he had previously submitted to the House Un-American Activities Committee.**

- **On May 8, 1953, Belfrage was summoned before this committee by Rep. Velde in New York. He refused to testify, on constitutional grounds.**

- **On May 13, 1953, Belfrage and a fellow GUARDIAN**

(Continued on Page 2)

BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK • ANNA LOUISE STRONG • NEW YORK, JUNE 1 • SEE P. 11

How does YOUR Guardian grow?

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THE MAIL BAG
USA

Polio and profits

BLOOMFIELD, CONN.

When our leaders kneel down in church next Sunday, I hope that they will not forget to thank God for Polio. For it has created a new, big and profitable business to aid in bolstering up our American way of life, and proves that here in America even little children can lead us to bigger and better profits.

Fred M. Mansur

He blames AMA

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The American Medical Assn. has the complete blame for the Salk vaccine fiasco. They exert tremendous influence on our health and welfare organizations, pharmaceutical corporations, and upon the medical profession itself. They have always been a potential reactionary force in the U.S. They believe in the status quo and have done virtually nothing to meet the saddening health problems that beset our country.

Harry Fries

Socialized medicine

MIAMI, FLA.

In my opinion socialized medicine needs some airing in our NG. The large injustices of the present medical set-up are as obvious as any racial or other injustices in our land today and the people are disgusted generally with this rotten system of medical care, I feel sure. Some positive pressures on the socialized medical care front, while not popular with the docs, would be with the citizenry.

J. P.

Miss Strong and apathy

HAMILTON, ONT.

The articles about and by Anna Louise Strong have been personally very interesting, as I heard her speak here in the early forties on Russia, when all classes of society held our ally in high regard. Miss Strong was wonderful and I am sure she impressed the bourgeois very much with her sincerity.

Today, however, this industrial city is in the grip of fear and it is hard to understand where memory and reason have fled. The inertia of our population is pathetic. I do hope something of the courage of our pioneer forefathers reasserts itself very soon.

Florence Kaye

Hallinan and unity

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Everyone I hope agrees with Vincent Hallinan on the importance of unity.

Unity is needed and a platform that will concentrate on one or two important issues and can still hold to its socialist goal. This way the party neither loses its identity nor scatters its forces.

If the candidates concentrated on the doing away with fissionable weapons and self-determination for small countries without foreign interference, that would be a program worth fighting for.

Haverhill Reader

Political realities

PROVINCETOWN, MASS.

Prison has made Hallinan a determined realist. We need more of such people to lead the American progressive movement, which must soon attain limited objectives or attain no objectives at all. We must work sensibly with the political realities of our time or perish disunited and ignominious. All support to Hallinan and a united, realist Progressive Party.

John Ross

How crazy can you get dept.

DOOM TOWN, Nev., May 6 (INS) — The shattered homes and grotesquely twisted mannequin victims of an atomic tragedy in Doom Town today offered genuine American communities new hope for survival in a nuclear age.

—Lead to story on bomb test in Los Angeles Herald-Express, May 6, 1955.

One-year free sub to winner of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Sol E. Snit, Los Angeles.

The Batture Dwellers

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Please thank GUARDIAN readers for heartening response to Batture Dwellers' letter 3/14/55. Suit has been filed for $216,267.15 compensation: "James Kelly & Others vs United States & Orleans Levee Board."

WDSU-TV ran a short on the case Easter Sunday. First edition of a booklet "These Were Our Homes" has been donated to the Batture Dwellers to sell for their defense fund, by Victory Library, publishers. It gives the human side; pictures the people and their homes before and after bulldozing and burning. shows levee repair work, pretext for destruction; lists some officials to whom letters can be sent.

Walter Rogers, Chairman, Batture Dwellers & Defense Assn.
Box 1294, New Orleans 10, La.

The Nevada tests

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Again I was shocked and disappointed to see no mention of our peril from the tests in Nevada. The silence in all the papers is terrifying—in view of the urgent importance of stopping once again all these tests that can rob us of our health and food supply and are a menace to the whole world. To the rest of mankind we appear insane to risk ourselves as well as our neighbors.

Nathalia Briggs Manning

Dr. Phillips' case

SEATTLE, WASH.

About a year ago I placed an advertisement in the GUARDIAN which appealed for financial contributions to help in my litigation to reverse a three-year prison sentence for contempt of court. I explained that I was cited for contempt because I refused to name the chairman of my Communist Party Club while testifying as to my understanding of Marxism-Leninism in the Seattle Smith Act trial. GUARDIAN readers responded splendidly.

I want to thank the many anonymous contributors and also to advise all those interested that I succeeded in raising Mr. Philip Burton's fee and most of the other expenses necessary to my appeal. Briefs and records have been filed with the U.S. Court of Appeal for the ninth circuit and we are now waiting a date for the oral argument.

The strengthening of my sense of security which the response of GUARDIAN readers furnished made me realize how very important it is to enlarge its circulation. The boldness of our participation in the American Resistance will increase with the increase in size of GUARDIAN circulation, and (happy circle) the GUARDIAN circulation will increase as a result of our boldness.

Herbert J. Phillips

Herr Who?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Gradually Germany has been eased into what is called the family of free nations. And gradually the German government has been filled with ex-storm troopers, ex-war criminals and ex-Hitler aides.

At this point Germany is separated from Nazism by a Herr's breadth.

Colton P. Pick

F.D.R. and the pygmies

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Recently, some desperate and ghoulish politicians dug up the not-so-secret Yalta papers. As a result, the TV networks ran some movie clips of F. D. Roosevelt.

Just to hear his powerful, sincere voice and to experience his warm personality once again reaffirmed our estimate of him: a giant of a human, especially compared to the pygmies who followed him.

Esther Brook

Veterans in Moscow

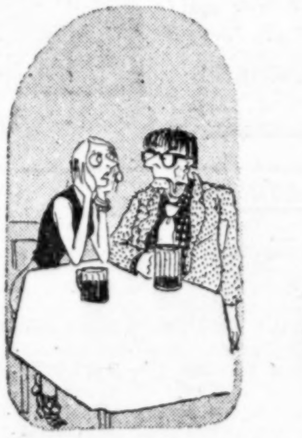
NEW YORK, N. Y.

At a time when war tensions are constantly at the breaking point, nine American veterans go to meet nine Russian veterans to commemorate the moment when the soldiers of the two most powerful nations of the world joined hands to seal the victory over fascism. This symbolic meeting is front-page news. This item got on p. 25 of the N. Y. Times.

The item tells that the nine veterans were nearly prevented from going for lack of money. The richest country in the world can not find $5,000 to send them. By contrast the Soviet Union raised the money for our soldiers from Moscow to Paris. The meeting must be worth it for the Soviet Union.

In order for our veterans to go, a characteristic American way of financing was found: television give-away programs. This illustrates neatly both the hit-and-miss nature of planning in our way of living; it also suggests that the audience—a fair cross-section of the population—must be with the veterans and their planned trip. Perhaps ordinary people have an understanding of the significant events in our time, regardless of the lack of understanding by their government and its leading newspaper.

R. W.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Of course I realize that to you I'm just a social butterfly, but honestly, Leon, that's not the real me."

Japan wants peace

LONDON, ENGLAND

I spent last October in China where I visited most cities. I was very much impressed with the cleanliness of the places and general appearance of well being of the people. I spent November in Japan where I visited Hiroshima and other cities. There is no doubt that the Japanese people have had all they want of war.

The proposal to amend the Constitution so that Japan can be legitimately rearmed is being opposed by all the churches, women's organizations, the two trade union bodies, and many notable people. The president of the Committee to Preserve the Peace Constitution is ex-Prime Minister Katayamo. There are four other ex-Ministers on that committee. I visited the House of the Victims of Hiroshima at Hiroshima, also the victims of the hydrogen bomb explosion in the Tokyo Hospital. I am afraid that these people are doomed to a slow, lingering death as a result of the radio-activity to which they were subjected. They live on frequent blood transfusions as they are no longer capable of producing sufficient white corpuscles of the blood.

Jessie M. G. Street

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Executive Editor*

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Target is the Guardian

(Continued from Page 1)

editor, James Aronson, were summoned before the now-discredited McCarthy Committee in Washington, presumably because they had worked together in the SHAEF press project in Occupied Germany.

Of dozens of newspapers and radio experts engaged in this project only Belfrage and Aronson were called. When they refused on Constitutional grounds to testify as to present professional activities and associations, they were placed under continuing subpoena and both Sen. McCarthy (R) and Sen. Symington (D) demanded deportation proceedings against Belfrage.

On May 15, 1953, the morning after the McCarthy-Symington demand, Belfrage was arrested. The case eventually presented against him 15 months later, based wholly on the testimony of two FBI informers, was a travesty (see GUARDIAN pamphlet, "The Case of the Stubborn Editor.") Even the final decision of the Board of Immigration Appeals, although adverse, seems to have recognized this by passing over all but a minimum required to carry out a deportation under the Walter-McCarran Law.

Thus the case against Belfrage quite evidently results from his editorship of the GUARDIAN and may be presumed to be aimed at crippling the paper economically and by discrediting its editor, if possible. The evidence of this is circumstantial, but as in the famous milk-watering case, it is as undeniable as "a trout in the milk."

Most GUARDIAN readers have received in the mail a letter outlining our summer needs. In the light of the past week's events these needs will be much greater. Will you respond at once?

NOWHERE IN OUR NATION TODAY is there a challenge to this hated law as full-bodied and encompassing as the Belfrage Case. Yet the press, blind even to the implications against freedom of the press, has sensationalized the McCarthy-led attack on Belfrage and the GUARDIAN but of course has blanked out all details of the Fight-Back. Where there has been a breakthrough, it has been through the alertness of a GUARDIAN reader, as expressed in a letter to the editor of the Denver Post, Jan. 1, 1955:

> **"They [the government] hope to deport Belfrage, not because they know or care if he is or was a Communist, but because he edits a paper which opposes what it sees as the government's drive for world domination. The liberty to do this is dangerous; and you must begin trimming somewhere."**

So it is our fight—yours and ours—for a paper, for its editor, for an immigration law worthy of our traditions, reflecting the image of our Statue of Liberty.

Let's make it a big fight. Let's make it a winning fight. START IT OFF WITH YOUR CONTRIBUTION TODAY.

Wanted: leadership

WASHINGTON, D. C.

In the May 2 GUARDIAN there is a Mail Bag letter entitled "The 'New Birth'" in which the writer says simply, "Let's quit." He's afraid that "future and saner generations will never come" and that babies "will not become saner than their parents." Then there is Hallinan's plea for progressives to unite, in which he castigates the various segments of the Left who by their failure to consult with each other have brought the entire progressive movement up to a very solid wall.

I hope the Mail Bag writer read Hallinan's plea. However, I do not expect he will learn a single lesson from it, because he is not alone in the growing discouragement. Nor is he aware of the fact that the discouragement is of our own making.

Let's only go back to pre-World War II days when the unions grew, when youth groups and political associations of various shades of opinion functioned quite effectively. What has happened to them? The war certainly did not kill them off. Their activities were in many cases somewhat integrated. Their political ideas were progressive in the broad sense of the word. But still they are not here.

I believe the prime reason was that at no time was there a leadership which would train other leaders who would follow. Today we have a condition of many self-appointed Indian Chiefs but no Indians. True, this "leadership" arranges various functions for raising funds, writing resolutions, etc., but how many of them would work among just plain, ordinary people whose chief concern is making a living? No, our "leadership" would fall apart if they had to maintain their status among workers. How could some of our "leaders" give up even part of their standards which are so very false — and, strangely enough, those which they say should be destroyed?

I hope I will never be so old as to say that nothing gets better. But I am young enough to know that it won't get better until we start talking to each other and decide on a program of basic principles to which we shall promise to adhere.

Anonymous

WAR & PEACE

'The threshold of a new era'? -- West must meet challenge

By Tabitha Petran

THE NEW and comprehensive Soviet program to eliminate the threat of atomic war and do away with the whole military apparatus of the "cold war" (see below) posed a sharp challenge to Western policy. The Soviet initiative came at a time when, in Walter Lippmann's words (5/12), "a new political force with which all governments have learned they must reckon" is beginning to make itself felt in the western world. This new force was defined by the N. Y. **Times** (5/15) as

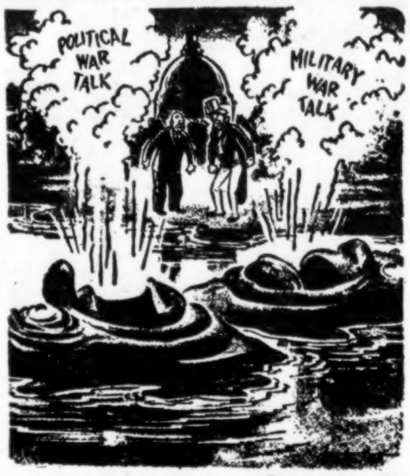
> ". . . the pressure of public opinion throughout the free world . . . yearning for a settlement and systems of disarmament that would assure against nuclear holocaust."

This popular pressure already compelled a reluctant Washington to agree to top level talks with the U. S. S. R., although "a lot of persons in Washington are still in the dumps about it" (James Reston, **NYT**, 5/11). Its strength and extent now makes impossible outright rejection of the Soviet plan. "Tempting" as it may be to dismiss the Soviet program as "propaganda," explained the **NYT** (5/15), "the rest of the world will not forgive us if we fail to give [it] serious consideration" since it "appears quite reasonable."

WESTERN DILEMMA: Yet to accept the proposals even as a basis for negotiation would make untenable the West's "positions of strength" policy which is designed to accelerate rearmament and to "win the cold war" by military showdown.

Initial reaction underlined the western dilemma. London officials called the proposals "very important but also very tricky" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 5/11). Washington officials were "privately dubious," fearing they were designed "to feed the fires of neutralism" and block W. German rearmament (**NYT**, 5/12). In Paris, 15 "surprised" NATO foreign ministers, conceding that the Soviet plan contained major concessions, noted that these were part of an overall program "which the West could not accept" (**NYT, 5/12**).

The Soviet disarmament plan makes these major concessions: (1) accepts Western ceilings on conventional armed forces of the Big Five which it had previously opposed chiefly on the ground that in some cases these meant not a cut but an increase in armed forces; (2) accepts the British-French plan on the order and proportion of the disarmament schedule, leaving elimination of nuclear weapons to the very last when the final 25% reduction in conventional arms takes place; (3) accepts the Western position that during the preliminary stages of disarmament nuclear weapons can be used "in defense against aggression" but holds (as the West does not) that this is permissible only "when an appropriate decision is taken by the Security Council."



Sacramento Bee

Offshore islands in the Potomac

ON ATOMIC CONTROL: The Soviet plan proposes setting up an international control agency concurrent with the first disarmament measures and gives it limited rights of inspection in the first stage of disarmament; but in the second stage, when an atmosphere of trust has been created, the agency would have the right to station control teams permanently in every country with "unhindered access at any time to all objects of control." The power of prevention and punishment of violators is given to the Security Council.

The plan states frankly that the nature of atomic production is such that control can never be wholly effective; that in the present atmosphere of distrust no nation will permit "foreign controllers" broad access to its war enterprises. Therefore it proposes, at this time, to guard against the danger of sudden atomic attack by stationing international control teams in key ports, railroad junctions, etc., to warn of any big concentrations of military contingents.

NO COMMENT: This proposal, the **NYT** (5/12) pointed out, "in fact goes beyond anything suggested by the Western powers." Significantly, Western comment on the Soviet plan has

(Continued on Page 4)

A world without arms: the Soviet Union's plan

At the May 10 meeting of the UN Sub Committee on Disarmament in London, Soviet Ambassador Malik presented for UN consideration three draft resolutions designed to end the threat of another war. After discussion by the Sub Committee, the resolutions will come before the Disarmament Commission this summer in New York, then presumably before the Security Council or General Assembly. Following is a digest of the Soviet resoutions:

I. Steps to world peace

THE FIRST RESOLUTION points to a worsening of the international situation in certain areas; the expanding arms race, especially in atomic and hydrogen bombs; the continued construction of foreign military bases on foreign soil, many of which are for atomic war preparations; the more frequent calls for war, especially atomic war; the rupture of traditional economic and trade relations. It underlines the need, therefore, for urgent measures to ease tension, end the "cold war" and propaganda for another war. It says such measures would create the requisites for carrying out a broad disarmament program. For these purposes it asks the General Assembly to call for:

1. Strict implementation of its resolution condemning any form of war propaganda.

2. Negotiations to settle outstanding issues.

3. Immediate withdrawal by the U. S., Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. of their occupation forces from Germany to their national frontiers—except for strictly limited troops left temporarily in Germany pending agreement on their full withdrawal; the establishment of strictly limited local police forces in both parts of Germany; joint controls by the four powers to implement the restrictive agreement.

4. Dismantling of military bases on foreign territories.

5. Assistance by atomic powers to other states in development of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

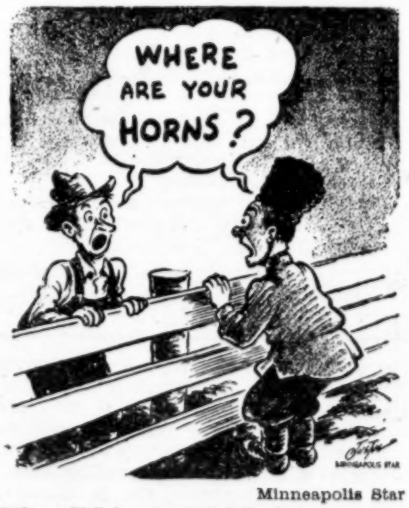
6. Settlement of outstanding Far East questions in conformity with principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

7. Elimination of every discrimination which hampers development of broad economic co-operation and encouragement to expansion of international cultural relations, specifically through broad exchange of delegations and mutual visits. . . .

8. Inclusion in the agenda of its regular session of the question of compliance by states with provisions of the present resolutions. . . .

II: Arms reduction

THE SECURITY COUNCIL resolution instructs the Disarmament Commission to draw up a draft for an International Convention on Reduction of Armaments and Prohibition of Atomic, Hydrogen, and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction. It envisages complete prohibition of the use and manufacture of such weapons and substantial reduction of all armed forces and all conventional armaments. The implementation is to be carried out in two periods.


WHERE ARE YOUR HORNS ?

Minneapolis Star

When U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. farmers meet

THE FIRST PERIOD: 1956

1. No increase in armed forces above the levels of Dec. 31, 1954; no increase in armed forces appropriations (including atomic weapons) above the Sept. 31, 1954, level. These measures to be carried out within two months after the agreement enters into force. The Big Five to submit to the Disarmament Commission, within one month after the convention enters into force, full official figures regarding their armed forces, conventional armaments and expenditures for military needs.

2. Agreed levels fixed for armed forces: 1-1.5 million for U. S., U. S. S. R., and China; 650,000 each for Britain and France. These five powers to reduce within one year their armed forces and armaments to the extent of 50% of the difference between the level on Dec. 31, 1954, and the reduced levels fixed according to the obligations by each state as outlined.

3. A world disarmament conference, including UN and non-UN states, to be convened during the first half of 1956 and designed to determine the reduction of arms and armed forces of other states and the prohibition of atomic weapons. Armed forces of other states to be considerably lower than the levels fixed for the five permanent members of the Security Council.

4. The atomic powers undertake to discontinue tests of these weapons.

5. Agreement by the states not to use nuclear weapons whch they consider as prohibited for themselves. Exceptions for this rule may be allowed for purposes of defense against aggression when an appropriate decision is taken by the Security Council.

6. States possessing military bases on foreign soil agree to dismantle them.

THE SECOND PERIOD: 1957

1. Immediate halt to production of nuclear weapons, national military budgets to be cut accordingly.

2. The Big Five reduce arms by the remaining 50% of the difference between the Dec. 31, 1954, levels and the reduced levels fixed under the convention, with corresponding reduction in military budgets. Arms reductions for other states will be completed during this period.

3. After the armed forces and conventonal armaments are reduced by 75% of the total reduction envisaged by the convention, complete prohibition of the mass destruction weapons will enter into force. This prohibition and the reduction of the remaining 25% in armed forces and conventional arms are to be completed in 1957. All atomic material will then be used for peaceful purposes. The states will undertake broad co-operation in this field, without political or military strings. .

4. Dismantling of foreign military bases to be completed. When all these measures are completed, the powers agree to reduce arms to the levels absolutely essential for their national security. China's obligations as a permanent member of the Security Council to be examined with its participation.

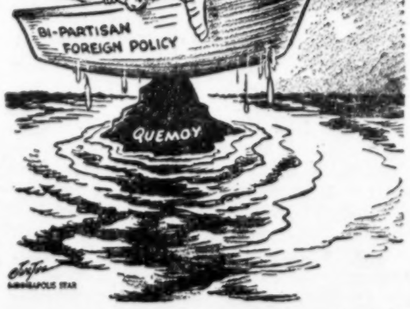
III. An agency for control

THE SECOND ASSEMBLY resolution points out that at present conditions are lacking for the kind of control which would enjoy the trust of all states; that agreement on inspection is therefore difficult; that the nature of atomic production is such that atomic energy produced for peace can be used to accumulate stocks of explosive materials for war; that control can, therefore, be circumvented and nuclear weapons produced in secret; and therefore agreement on international control, so long as there is no atmosphere of peace, can only lull the vigilance of peoples, create a false sense of security while the danger of sudden atomic attack remains.

In any war, however, there is the need for concentration of big contingents of ground armed forces through key ports, junctions, airfields. Therefore, the resolution calls for:

1. The international control agency to set up in the respective states control posts in big ports, railroad junctions, motor roads and airdromes.

2. The agency to have the right to demand from the states the necessary information on implementation of the arms reduction program; have unhindered access to materials pertaining to national military budget appropriations.



Minneapolis Star

LOW TIDE

3. After an atmosphere of trust has been created, the control agency will have these rights and powers: to exercise control including inspection on a permanent basis, the inspection to be carried out by personnel selected on an international basis; to have permanently in all countries signatories to the convention its staff of inspectors who would have unhindered access at any time to all objects of control; the control agency to make recommendations to the Security Council on measures of prevention and suppression as regards violators of the convention.

HE'S ONLY POLITICAL DETAINEE BEHIND BARS

Belfrage jailing reverses U.S. policy

By Elmer Bendiner

EDWARD J. SHAUGHNESSY, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in New York, told the GUARDIAN in a telephone interview last week that Cedric Belfrage was being held in the Federal Detention House on West St. because he is "actively engaged in advocating policies which we think involve national security."

(The charges under which deportation proceedings have been brought against Belfrage are based on informers' allegations of Belfrage's political activities 18 years ago. The only enterprise in which Belfrage is now "actively engaged" is editing the GUARDIAN.)

THE ONLY ONE: Shaughnessy admitted that most "detainees" were free in bail pending final disposition of their cases. Some 30-35 are housed in a special detention center on Washington St., about six or seven ailing persons are in a Staten Island hospital, another six or seven in jail. The latter, he said, were those

> ". . . active in matters which we think involve national security or who have the worst police records or who might disturb the routine of detention facilities."

A GUARDIAN check revealed that Belfrage is the only "political detainee" held in prison anywhere in the country. Other non-citizens whose deportation appeals have been denied have been notified by mail. There has been no attempt to arrest them pending final action by the courts. Belfrage was an exception. This reporter read to Shaughnessy from a news report in the N. Y. **Times** (12/10/54):

> "It was learned yesterday that the Washington office of the Justice Dept. agency had informed district directors that under no circumstances may alien detainees any longer be placed in jail."

PEARL BUCK'S LETTER: Shaughnessy said:

> "That's interesting. . . . Well, that was the policy as of Dec. 10, but since then experience has taught us a few things."

Asked what "experience" had caused the department to reverse so clear a directive, Shaughnessy said he would not "enlarge" on his statement.

THE "CRIME": DEFIANCE OF HITLER'S AMERICAN IMITATOR

This was May 15, 1953, the day after Cedric Belfrage defied the McCarthy committee. The scene: the GUARDIAN office. At left an Immigration agent who came to take Belfrage (right) to Ellis Island. Exactly two years later, other agents called at his home to take him to a Federal prison.

When Ellis Island was closed as an immigration station last November some of those awaiting deportation in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty were set free in bail; others were transferred to county, state and federal jails. Imprisoning aliens who were charged with no crime stirred sharp protest throughout the country, some of it from high places. In a letter to the N.Y. **Times** author Pearl Buck wrote (11/16/54):

> "They [the detainees] are locked up with murderers, drug addicts and other degenerate types. Their food is inadequate, their bed mattresses dirty. They have little opportunity to get fresh air. . . . Intelligent and good persons are treated as though they had committed crimes. . . . It is very urgent that something be done immediately."

JAVITS PROTESTED: The **Times** letter columns carried prompt echoes of Miss Buck. Dr. Charles Fama (11/25/54) wrote:

> "What a mockery of Christian charity and humaneness. How can we preach democracy to the world and do these things?"

Jacob K. Javits, then a Congressman and N.Y. Atty.-General-elect, wrote (12/6/54):

> "To detain them [aliens] in premises which are a penal institution . . . is disruptive alike of our social concept of the purposes of a prison and of the nation's majesty in receiving aliens.
>
> "Detained aliens should not be held in jails. I do not believe this was the spirit of the Congress in enacting the law authorizing detention of aliens and I shall continue to protest against any such practice. . . . Are aliens some kind of second-class human beings not entitled to the normal amenities of a civilized social order?"

Sheriff Hoy of Westchester County Jail in Eastview, N. Y., flatly refused to accept any more immigration cases, saying he "did not like the idea" of jailing people without a conviction.

"SPACIOUS, CHEERFUL": The **Times** editorially applauded Sheriff Hoy (12/2/54) and added:

> "Even aliens awaiting deportation have committed no crime—much less those seeking admission. Most detainees are at large, on bond or parole, but not a single one should ever be treated like a criminal."

The pressure seemed to get results. On Jan. 4 Shaughnessy announced that those few detainees who could not be allowed their liberty were to be housed in the Federal Building at 641 Washington St. He said he was readying for them a block-square, "spacious, cheerful" room with ceilings 13½ feet high. It would be freshly painted, with newly repaired plumbing. There would be "not cells" but a dormitory with a view of the Hudson.

NOT QUITE FIT: The protest was calmed. When Belfrage was arrested and imprisoned in the West St. jail with almost no privileges (see p. 1) few voices were raised. The **Times** buried the first story, carried the news of Belfrage's protest hunger strike two days late (although the paper had the story within hours after Belfrage began his strike) and gave it three paragraphs on page 11. The **Journal-American** was the only other daily to carry the story —24 hours before the **Times.**

The jailing of Belfrage was plainly counter to the announced post-Ellis Island policies of the Immigration Service but in line with a policy laid down by Atty. Gen. Brownell two months before Belfrage was first arrested in 1953. Brownell was quoted in the **Times** (3/18/53):

> "It's a job worthy of a modern-day St. Patrick to drive the snakes from our shore, but steady progress is being made and we are determined to succeed."

War & peace

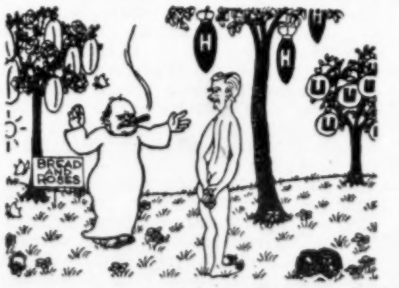
(Continued from Page 3)

almost completely ignored it; it has simply claimed that the Soviet inspection-control plan is "inadequate," "fuzzy," hence unacceptable. Soviet failure to accept the Western control plan is used as a pretext to discount the Soviet proposals.

This is not accidental. For nine years the West has insisted on a Baruch-type control system, aiming at total effectiveness; has demanded that the control agency—which would be dominated by the Western powers—have the power of enforcement and punishment pending action by the Security Council, Assembly or signatory states; that it be set up **before** any disarmament measures are taken. This means a one-sided control would be in operation long before any controls are placed on nuclear weapons; in effect, a Western-dictated disarmament of the socialist world. However, the latest British-French plan may, according to UN sources, point to a less rigid Western position.

COUNTER MEASURES: The U. S. S. R., at least, has again put the disarmament question squarely before public opinion. Soviet concessions last fall led to the UN General Assembly's unanimous resolution calling on the London sub-committee to continue its efforts to achieve nuclear-weapons control and disarmament. Thereafter, the Western powers took a series of steps designed to intensify the arms drive:

- The Paris Agreements rearming W. Germany were pushed through reluctant W. European parliaments.
- NATO was formally geared to atomic war.
- The SEATO powers moved to expand armaments in Southeast Asia.
- The U. S. and Britain tightened military alliances in the Middle East.
- Britain started H-bomb production.



Humanite, Paris

The one forbidden tree

Simultaneously the Western powers insisted that the disarmament talks proceed in secret—apparently in the hope of burying them quietly.

The U. S. S. R. has countered these moves with flexible diplomacy.

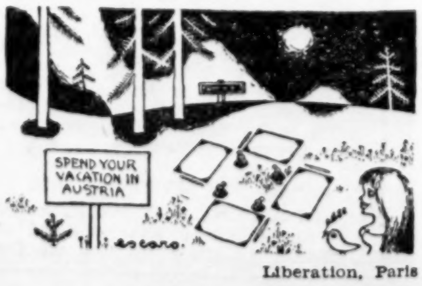
- The popular appeal of the policy of negotiation forced the West to conclude the Austrian treaty.
- The new Soviet concessions on disarmament has blocked the Western effort to shelve the question.
- The threat of W. German rearmament is being countered by new efforts to neutralize Yugoslavia (a top level Soviet mission will visit Belgrade this month) and by the conclusion in Warsaw of a friendship-cooperation-mutual aid treaty among the E. European states and the U. S. S. R. Other European countries have been invited to join.

BULGANIN'S WARNING: The Soviet proposal to withdraw occupation troops from Germany will have wide appeal there; some military leaders already oppose the "Atlantic strategy" which designates W. Germany as the initial battlefield of World War III. But the victory of Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party in the Rhineland-Palatinate state elections May 15 (it won 51 seats to 43 in the outgoing parliament) shows that a shift in W. German policy will not be easily accomplished.

Soviet Premier Bulganin outlined to the Warsaw conference May 11 the U. S. S. R.'s view that the international situation in certain areas is "becoming more complicated, while mutual distrust between states is growing." Ratification of the Paris agreements, he said, "has seriously changed the entire international situation." W. Germany is "being turned into a bridgehead for the deployment of large aggressive forces" and the "activization of aggressive forces is being observed not in Europe alone" but also in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the China coast, in U. S. steps to expand its network of military bases.

A NEW ERA? Bulganin emphasized that the U. S. S. R. will continue to fight against W. German rearmament. He indicated that the first effort would be to improve relations between E. and W. Germany. Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, in Vienna to sign the Austrian treaty, set the Soviet goal in Germany as "unity without reviving their militarism."

At this juncture of world affairs, which Western commentators tend to see as an "historic moment . . . the threshold of a new era," it is clear that the popular outcry in the West for peace has made some headway; the Western governments have agreed to talks with the U. S. S. R. But it is equally clear that this is only a beginning. The demand throughout the Western world for peaceful settlement is growing, but so are war preparations. What lies ahead appears to be a sharpening of the struggle between these forces—a struggle demanding an ever greater and more conscious effort from those who want peace.


SPEND YOUR VACATION IN AUSTRIA
escaro

Liberation, Paris

The Belfrage story

(Continued from Page 1)

frage's lawyers learned of his arrest; by late afternoon of the same day they were able to get a writ of habeas corpus signed by Federal Judge Laurence E. Walsh, ordering Belfrage to be produced in court at 10 a.m., May 17.

At the Federal Detention Headquarters Belfrage was processed and booked in the same manner as a felon. He was photographed, fingerprinted, stripped, searched, and required to supply data for a routine form headed "Criminal" on which top priority was given to questions relating to "religion" and "past incidence of syphilis."

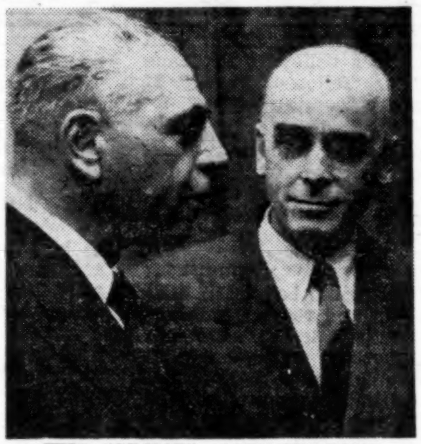
NO APPETITE: He was locked into a 10-by-10 cell with an 18-year-old inmate and learned gradually that he was to be segregated from the rest of the prison population and denied the most elementary privileges in total confinement to his cell. When he found that he was not to be allowed to go to the dining room or the library, or permitted to participate in twice-daily exercise periods on the roof, he declined to accept the meals that were brought to him in his cell. He explained his action in a letter to one of his lawyers:

> "A tray of food which looked as if it had been quite well and carefully prepared was pushed through to me. I did not feel any appetite and several of the guards were solicitous about it. I explained the reason for my lack of appetite—that I had been put in jail illegally to begin with, since I am not and never have been charged with any crime; that I have been put through the process of being booked as a 'criminal' (on the card that was filled out and filed) and finally locked up and thus prevented from circulating around the jail during the daytime as the others are allowed. The guards explained in a perfectly friendly way that they were just carrying out orders; and of course I said that I understood this, but all the same I felt I was unlikely to have an appetite while locked up; but I might revive it if I were permitted to eat with the others. They finally appeared resigned. . . ."

WIRE TO BROWNELL: By Monday, May 16, the restrictions against him were relaxed enough for him to abandon his "hunger strike." The change in his treatment came after his lawyers had wired Atty. Gen. Brownell on Sunday:

> "Cedric Belfrage, a British national, now detained for deportation at the Federal House of Detention, has rejected all food since Friday evening in protest of discriminatory treatment at said institution. In our opinion his incarceration is tantamount to solitary confinement. We urge immediate investigation to prevent starvation. Request his removal to Immigration detention facilities at Washington St. pending determination of bail application now before courts."

When the five-man Board of Immigration Appeals announced its adverse decision on May 12, the Immigration Service could have permitted new bail to be posted for Belfrage by the simple expedient of a phone call to his lawyers agreeing to that step. Instead the Service locked him up and forced a new bail fight in the courts.



THE "CRIME": ANTI-FASCISM

That meant the fight against killing the Rosenbergs too. Above Belfrage is shown with the late Emanuel Bloch, the valiant attorney for Ethel and Julius.

THE TWO COUNTS: In the original warrant for Belfrage's arrest, served on May 15, 1953, the day after he and executive editor James Aronson appeared before Sen. McCarthy's investigating committee, two counts were specified: (1) that Belfrage became a member of or was affilated with the Communist Party **after** his entry to this country; (2) that he was a member of an organization working for the overthrow of the government **at the time** of entry. It was tacitly assumed by government officers at Belfrage's hearing last September and October that the first charge related to his first entry as a resident alien in 1937 and the second to his last entry following war service abroad late in 1945.

Although Special Inquiry Officer Aaron Maltin, who conducted the hearing, relied solely on "evidence" relating to Belfrage's politics in 1937 and 1938, he upheld the second charge as well through a far-fetched interpretation of a rather loose legal doctrine of a "presumption of continuance" which he cited as follows:

> "Proof of the existence of . . . a condition, or tendency at a given time raises a presumption that it continued for as long as is usual with things of that nature. . . ."

CRIME: ANTI-FASCISM: The Appeals Board threw this charge out with the declaration that "there is no proof of participation in the Communist Party affairs after November, 1941." In effect, the board ruled that Belfrage is not now and was not in 1945 a Communist but nevertheless must be deported for political views he held 18 years ago.

Then the board went far out of its way to cite the nature of Belfrage's 1937 views which make him a menace today; it dipped into two publications of that period to show what Belfrage thought:

> "In 1936, he visited Russia. A description of this occasion is reprinted in **The Clipper** of August, 1941. The article is critical only of those who choose not to understand the inevitability of the birth of a society without privilege. It dismisses muttering about 'purges' as made by those who do not know that the birth of a new life is painful; or as made by persons living in glass houses; or as made about an event which may not even have happened—being only a propaganda trick by those critical of Russia.
>
> "From the article, we learn that the existing order, or disorder, of the world so disgusted respondent, that not too long before the time of the visit to Russia, he felt that 'only a criminal' would cause the birth of a child 'to inherit such a world.'
>
> "The article was written by an individual sensitive to the existence of human misery and more desirous of a change in the world than concerned with the price. The Communist Party was to his belief creating such a world. The likelihood is strong that such an individual would do the things that are indicated by the testimony of [Martin] Berkeley, and [Lars] Skattebol [government witness]. . . .
>
> "The likelihood we mentioned is given further probability by a speech made by the respondent, apparently in 1937, before a group of writers, and reported under respondent's name in **New Masses** of Dec. 28, 1937. The significance of the speech is almost unmistakable when it is borne in mind that respondent was an active fighter against fascism and believed that the Communist Party would be a potent factor in that fight. "The speech called upon writers to come out of their 'ivory towers' to actively join the fight against fascism. Respondent stated: 'I have had a hundred times as much evidence as I needed to know what fascism is, and why, with **absolutely any weapons** that may be necessary and at the risk of everything up to life itself and must fight against it.' [Underlining added by the board].

He speaks further of the burden of 'accepting the necessity of organized, disciplined struggle to preserve' artistic liberty. Acceptance of this burden, Belfrage points out, will give the writer 'a positive, hopeful world-view' and will enlist the writer 'in the people's army of liberty, side by side with factory workers and peasants.' The making of the choice of active participation in the fight against fascism, Belfrage stated, will cause the writer to see that fascism is the result of inadequate institutions whose inadequacy 'always is related, directly or indirectly, to the property-system and its results.' "

The basic issue

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN issued the following statement after the arrest of its editor Cedric Belfrage:

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN absolutely refuses to accept the deportation decision against its editor, Cedric Belfrage, and will fight the case to the finish. The most damning fact involved is that deportation proceedings against Belfrage were demanded two years ago by Senator McCarthy, today the most discredited politician in the United States, and carried out on the testimony of two Immigration Dept. informers. The Matusow affair indicates how much credence can be given to the government's informer stable.

What is involved here is far more than the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, which is opposed by President Eisenhower and by all major labor, educational, church and social welfare groups in the U.S. At the heart of the case is the issue of the Freedom of the Press.

This question must be asked: Has Belfrage been hounded for two years because he is the editor of a weekly newspaper which has been highly critical of the Washington Administration's cold war policies and attack on civil liberties at home? If that is the case then no American newspaper is safe from persecution. The First Amendment is in danger whether the attack is made on a small weekly or a great American daily.

'The illegality must boomerang'

In a letter from the West St. Detention House to GUARDIAN executive editor James Aronson, Belfrage wrote:

It is rather sad in a way to be so little surprised as I am by the orders that have been given to discriminate against me here. Of course, it is so clearly illegal, the whole thing, that any self-respecting American child would be shocked by it. But I am at the same time fortunate in knowing that it is not really myself as an individual who am the target of this vendetta, but thousands of foreign-born and native-born in America who refuse to stop calling for a return to the Constitution, which I think I once called the "bill of sale" that made me choose this country to live and raise children in. . . . I grieve also for the stupidity of the authorities in Washington who have yet to understand how such a display of illegality always must boomerang on them.

It is funny that I should have been writing in the current GUARDIAN about iron curtains I have known. Here I am behind a real solid iron one, but I have made a new discovery as to the special nature of such institutions as they exist in America. In this jail they paint the bars CHARTREUSE!

The bulletin board behind the "reception desk" has on it a boldly lettered sign: FIGHT COMMUNISM. The boys in Washington are indeed doing a splendid job of this.

PASSPORT SOUGHT

Soviet wants Robeson for 'Othello' film

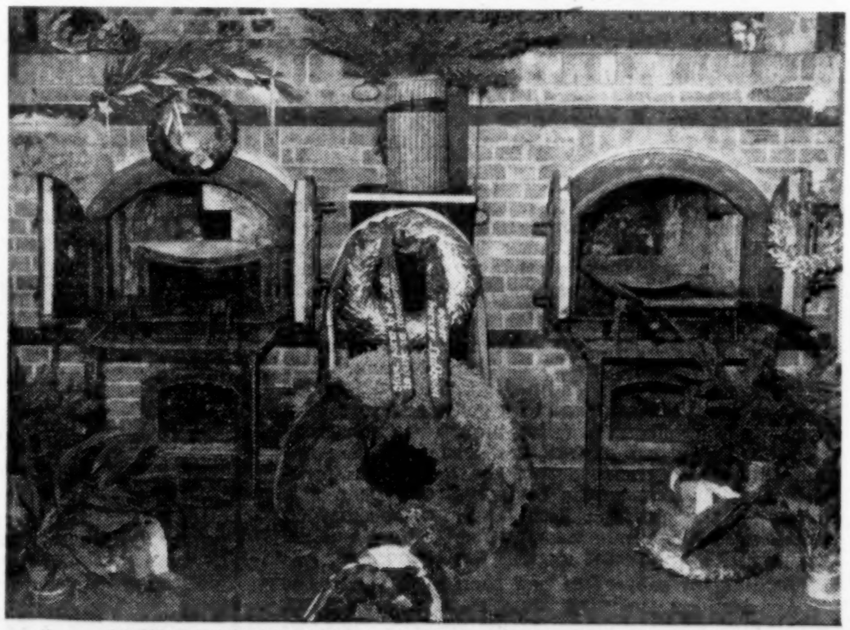
PAUL ROBESON reapplied last week for a passport to accept an invitation to appear in the title role in Shakespeare's **Othello**, to be filmed this summer in the Soviet Union. The invitation was from Mosfilm Studio director Sergei Yutkevich, who called Robeson "a magnificent portrayer of this role" and agreed to film Othello "in either English or Russian."

Robeson said it was a wonderful opportunity to participate in a major artistic work which would be "an exciting event in world culture." His greatest acting triumphs were in stage productions of **Othello** in London, on Broadway for a year's run in 1944 and another year on the road. Denied a passport since 1950, Robeson last January filed suit for the right to travel to fulfill concert and stage contracts in England, Israel and other countries. The case is now pending in the Federal courts.

Israel pays homage to Marian Anderson

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

THE GREATEST musical event in the history of Israel has been Marian Anderson's concert tour which has just drawn to a close. This nation of music-lovers has given her the greatest ovation ever accorded a guest artist. Her voice, which more than ever has the quality of liquid silver, has drawn crowds of unheard-of proportions. In addition to 12 concerts with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, Miss Anderson gave four recitals—recitals for which the public queued up for tickets at 5 a.m. and which were sold out half an hour after the box office opened.—**U. W.**



". . . ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM . . ."

Another premature "crime" of Cedric Belfrage was the fight against the gas ovens, shown above at Dachau, Germany. Today this room is a memorial chapel. Flags and wreaths from the victims' native countries are placed here; in the center is a wreath from Poland. In Washington the memory has been blotted out.

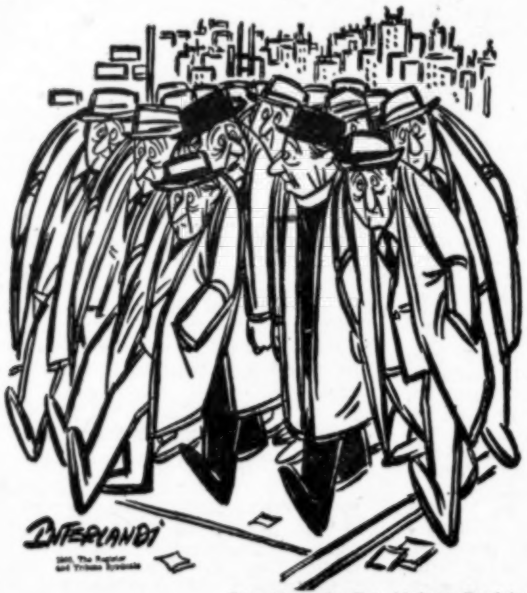
THE BARQUE OF HUMAN REASON ON THE OCEAN OF INSANITY

What is a Communist? Does America know what it fears?

The cover of a recent issue of the California Teacher, *publication of the AFL California Fedn. of Teachers, shows the Statue of Liberty viewed through spectacles that turn her into a witch on a broomstick against a red skyline. The paper details the school witch-hunt in New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, and in unsigned editorials (from one of which the following is condensed) goes to the witch-hunt's roots in a way that is doubly newsworthy in an official AFL union paper.*

In its final editorial the paper calls for "one big union" of teachers: "Aside from the American Civil Liberties Union, the organizations fighting hardest to protect teachers from unwarranted attack have been the independent teacher unions in New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. The AFT should re-examine the question of the 'redness' of these locals with a view to asking them to affiliate with the national organization. As far as the writer can see, no one has proved any disloyalty on the part of these locals, and they have enthusiasm, idealism, initiative, and esprit de corps that the AFT could well use."

IT HAS BEEN OBSERVED that in the deluge of words about the "Red" menace not many have been devoted to a definition of what it is that we are supposed to be afraid of. What are legal, or at least, rational definitions for these verbal floods of red, pink, commie, communist, Stalinist, subversive, crypto-communist, anti anti-communist, radical, red dupe, left winger, red sympathizer, fellow-traveler? Apparently the people most fearful of all these verbal weird sisters believe that there is a great variety among the views of those who do not see the world through glasses of the same tint, and therefore should be punished. . . .


INTERLANDI
1955, The Register and Tribune Syndicate

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"They feel that if you can have 'guilt by association' it must work the other way, too."

It must be recognized that many people use the "red" epithets as simply a sign of contempt for those of differing views, and such verbalisms need not have any definite meaning at all.

For having ideas or associations regarded by someone as tinged with "red," attacks have been made upon Robert Oppenheimer, Ralph Bunche, Corliss Lamont, Robert Condon, Dean Acheson, Bishop Oxnam, General Marshall, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Chief Justice Earl Warren. Many of his critics have stated that whether Senator McCarthy is a communist or not, his devious ways make him seem like one; and the various other un-American committee people such as Velde and Jenner, use methods similar to those of McCarthy.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY has been characterized as "for 20 years the party of treason." The Progressive Party was damned as "red-led" as far back as during Henry Wallace's political prime. And even the Republican Party has broken out in a "red" rash, for in the last days of the November campaign Adlai Stevenson declared that the Republican criticism that the Democratic Party had only been able to solve the unemployment and overproduction problems through war was identical with the chief "communist" complaint against the Democrats. . . .

Attacks for subversion had been made upon the United Nations, the Civil Liberties Union, UNESCO, many Protestant ministers, many teachers, the Lawyers Guild, American for Democratic Action, some thousands of government employes dismissed or quit for reasons not publicly detailed, the independent labor unions such as the ILWU.

One is reminded of Bertrand Russell's reflection: ". . . the ocean of insanity upon which the little barque of human reason insecurely floats. . . ."

BUT WHAT IS a communist? There is so much writing and talking about communism, just as if the word had a universally understood meaning.

Marx's **Communist Manifesto,** written about a century ago, called for a graduated income tax, among other things. It also called for free education for all children in public schools, and for abolition of child labor in factories. It demanded "the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan." These things have all come to pass, in at least some degree, in the U.S. Does believing in them make one a "communist"—or only help to make one a good American?

For some years past the government of Russia and the American Communist Party also have been waging a peace campaign. Does believing in peace make one a "communist" or "fellow-traveler?" If it does, then all Christians are "communists."

The Russians claim to be trying to raise the standard of living of their people and express an interest in seeing a higher standard of living for the people of the world. If you approve of this idea, does that approval make you a "communist?" If it does, then all union members are "communists." . . .

WITHOUT BEING in any degree a "communist" it would seem that a person could believe in government control of post offices and roads, social security, income tax, free public schools, minimum wage laws, world peace, and many other things in which "communists" say they believe. A loyal American citizen can oppose the increasing restrictions upon American freedom just as he can deplore Russian and Chinese slave labor and can condemn the general lack of freedom in Russia and China.

It certainly should not make one a "communist" to point out flaws in the political systems of our fascist allies of the "free world": Chiang, Rhee, Franco, and others.

What is a "communist," then, in the sense of being someone possibly deserving of official discrimination and punishment because of treasonable organizational ties?

Consider the hypothesis that the American Communist Party is guilty of treason and therefore deserves to be outlawed. Is the Party plotting to overthrow the government of the United States by force? Evidence can be secured to support such a statement as: The Republican Party is in favor of the Taft-Hartley Law. In a similar way, what is the evidence that the CP is working to overthrow the U.S. Government by force? Is the Party planning sabotage in the case of war? Is it planning organized revolt? Has it engaged in espionage? . . .

MEMBERS OF THE CP, being human, have no doubt committed all sorts of crimes and some of them will continue to commit them in the future. The same can be said of Republicans and Democrats. Should the CP be held responsible for the misdeeds of all its members? If the Republicans and Democrats were held accountable for all of the actions of all of their members, the entire U.S. would have to be declared a jail in order to hold all the members of those parties. An unlikely conjecture, of course.

It is noteworthy that CP leaders have emphatically denied that their organization is plotting to overthrow the U.S. Government by force.

Also the constitution of the CPUSA (1948 edition) Article VII, Section 3, declares:

> "Any member shall be expelled from the Party who is found to be engaged in espionage, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies. . . ."

On feeling and intellect

"Were Charles Dickens alive he would be critical of our Western democracy which, in my humble opinion, is not without its hypocrisy and double talk—wanting peace and at the same time an urgent race for rearmament.

"We do not want to have any more promises of 'Sweat, blood and tears.' . . . We have been cast into a matrix of hate, suspicion and fear. . . .

"He would have been critical of the scientists and their lack of moral responsibility in handing their atomic power to the military, the mere conception of which is a black mark against the human race.

"If we are to survive in this day of nuclear energy and these weapons of destruction we must develop a tolerance and kindness for our fellow man. It is not enough to be intellectual, we must have feeling. It is a beautiful balance of both feeling and intellect by which we can survive this civilization and make of it with its nuclear age a grand and glorious adventure for us all."

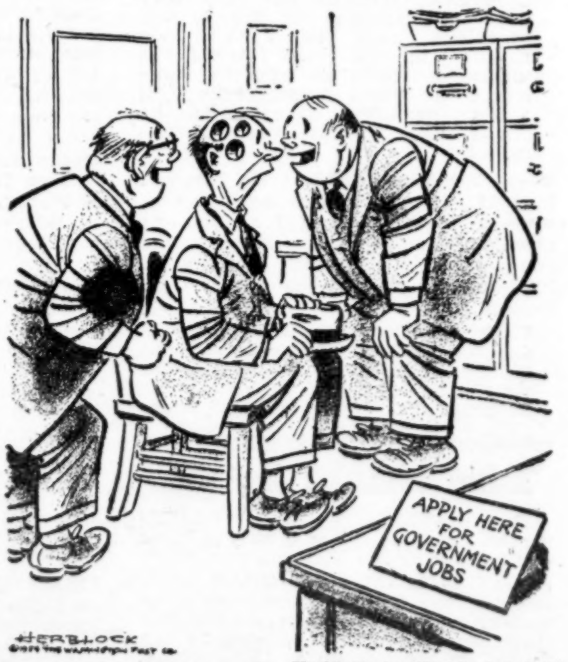
—*CHARLES CHAPLIN, proposing the toast to Dickens' "immortal memory" at Dickens Fellowship dinner, London.*

But it can be maintained that the intent of the constitution is the opposite of what is stated, and that the leaders of the Party say the opposite, or opposite with variations, of what they actually think. This brings us to the realm of the doublethink, triplethink, or n-think, where everyone is held accountable for the opposite, with variations, of what he does and says. In such a world who can be proved guiltless of anything?

> *"If we contrast the rapid progress of mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind."*
>
> —*GIBBON,* Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire.

AT ONE TIME (before trial and punishment by investigating committees) an American was held to be innocent until proved guilty of an unlawful act, and the intent was considered in determining guilt. Laws passed in contradiction with these principles were thrown out by the courts as unconstitutional. It seems to the writer that whether or not that is the system we live under now, that is the way it still should be.

As far as the writer can see, American Communist Party members should be treated like other Americans, that is, make them responsible under law for their actions. When guilty of law violation punish them for their illegal acts. If their organization is criminal, it is right to outlaw it, but let such criminality be clearly proved. Otherwise, if their organization cannot be proved criminal, let them have it and let it be on the ballot on equal terms with other political parties. If the American Communist Party members are not criminals but only wrong in their beliefs, answer them with arguments instead of punishment. . . .



Herblock in Washington Post

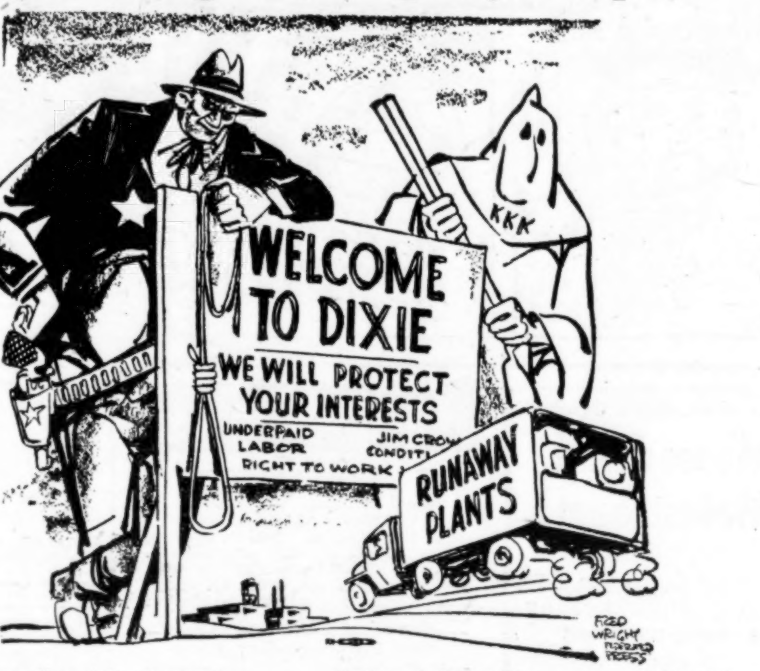
"That's the kind we want—you can see just what he's not thinking."

There is the danger now that nearly everyone is so fearful of "communism" that most of us are afraid to find out what it is we fear; consequently read no communist books, newspapers, or magazines and listen only to highly-colored anti-communist propaganda to describe it. You could as easily find out about the American political system by reading only anti-American Russian propaganda from Moscow.

The chief danger in this situation is the possibility that the least thoughtful among us will obediently do our work and carefully refrain from anything like critical thinking and in this way win what seems to be security as successful, patriotic citizens; while the budding Oppenheimers, and Einsteins, and more intelligent citizens in general, will emulate our example. A moronic society of this sort with no effective restraints upon foolish leadership would be ripe for the final war to end all wars, and humanity, with H-bombs and other agents of genocidal destruction.

LABOR

Strikes defy business' get-tough policy



FROM MAINE to the Gulf and from coast to coast people were walking on picket lines last week; in the month of March alone there were 450 strikes in progress. Boom profits for big business, government curbs—federal and state—on labor, and a generally toughened attitude of employers were making workers dissatisfied, restless, ready for action.

With many contracts expiring this spring and summer, some major battles may occur if bargaining gets rough. Negotiations are now taking place, or will soon, in auto, steel, farm equipment, meat packing, electrical manufacturing, copper mining, the trucking industry in the West, maritime, many another. To the Wall St. **Journal** there is "evidence that 1955 will be one of the toughest bargaining years since World War II ended."

SOUTH IN SPOTLIGHT: With a merger of the AFL and CIO definitely set for this winter, with many unions in the same field joining forces, and with unity of action becoming a rule, labor is feeling stronger than in many a year. Much of this resurgence is being felt in the South, where more than 85% of the workers are still unorganized but where two of this year's longest, meanest strikes have occurred. Both began on March 14; one, waged by the CIO Communications Workers against the Southern Bell Telephone Co., is still on.

The other, involving ten non-operating railroad unions and four operating brotherhoods against the Louisville & Nashville railroad, finally went to arbitration on May 10. Although violence marked both strikes, there was a notable reluctance on the part of all state governors involved to use it as an excuse for strikebreaking.

THE PHONE STRIKE: The phone strike, involving 50,000 workers—65% of them women—in ten states, came after eight months of fruitless bargaining. Main issue was a company demand for a no-strike clause. The union was willing to grant this in return for a system of unrestricted arbitration of all grievances—there were some 3,000 unsettled disputes when the strike came. The company refused.

Other union demands included elimination of wage differentials between North and South and between city and small town. The North-South difference ranges from $11 to $25 a week; an operator in Atlanta gets a top of $57 a week, while one in Social Circle, Ga., gets $46.50.

In all places the phone strikers had the support of other sections of organized labor. In mid-April, when Birmingham police broke up a picket line and arrested 16 strikers, 22,000 steelworkers at the Tennessee Coal & Iron works staged a protest walk-out and the Birmingham Joint Labor Board threatened a general strike in sympathy with the phone workers.

VIOLENCE BREAKS OUT: From the start the union denounced violence, but it kept on. The company got injunctions wherever it could, imported strikebreakers from other areas. The union's Chattanooga offices were invaded and wrecked; fire hoses were turned on strikers in Miami; on May 5 Mayor George Dempster of Knoxville, Tenn., armed a special police squad with orders to shoot to kill anyone damaging phone property. On May 10 the CIO executive board declared itself "aghast at the arrogance and viciousness" of the company and reasserted its "unqualified support" of the strikers.

The very next day a striking cable-splicer was shot in the back and critically wounded by a strikebreaker in Pensacola, Fla. Said CWA president Joseph Beirne:

> "This shooting is the tragic and inevitable consequence of the deliberate use of armed strikebreakers, a company practice which breeds violence and which the union has protested since the strike began."

PLEA TO WHITE HOUSE: On May 5 the union in a letter to the White House asked the personal intervention of President Eisenhower and pledged to abide by any decisions made by an arbitrator personally named by him. Six days later the N. Y. **Times** reported that the President at his press conference "cautiously endorsed arbitration . . . as a possible device" for ending the strike, but a White House letter to the union said he has no present intention of intervening.

So the strike goes on and the violence continues. But in many a small town in the Deep South the strikers have the solid backing of the entire community—as in Americus, Ga., where strike headquarters have been set up in the mayor's home.

THE RAIL STRIKE: The L & N rail strike, covering 14 states and involving 30,000 workers, was the longest and one of the roughest on record in that industry. The **Signalmen's Journal** called it the "greatest display of economic strength by the railroad non-operating unions since the so-called Shopmen's Strike of 1922." There was one big difference: the 1922 strike was lost because the operating brotherhoods stayed on the job. This time they refused to cross picket lines; when the company threatened to fire those not reporting for work, four of the brotherhoods—the yardmasters, the dispatchers, the firemen and enginemen and the trainmen—declared themselves on strike.

The company hired gunmen and tried to operate with untrained workers. There were several shootings—two strikers were killed—and several accidents, some of them fatal. **Labor,** official publication of the brotherhoods, wrote:

> "Death roams the rails when reckless gunmen are hired to guard struck carrier property and when inexperienced personnel operate scab trains."

A FEAR CAMPAIGN: Main issue of the strike was a relatively minor one concerning a health and welfare plan long ago agreed to by all other Class I roads in the country. As in the phone strike, what was important was the fury with which the companies resisted demands long ago established as accepted standards. Some labor observers saw these two strikes as an organized employer attempt to frighten other unions into lowering their demands as bargaining time approaches.

TEXTILE STRIKE: In New England, about 18,000 textile strikers were still out last week fighting a proposed 10% pay cut. The CIO Textile Workers Union went into negotiations demanding restoration of a 6.5% cut made in 1952, but when the strike began it was willing to drop this demand and settle for a renewal of present contracts. Thirty-seven mills did sign up on the basis of the present contracts, but one group of employers held out for the 10% cut.

AUTO GETS TOUGH: The same pattern of employer toughness was shaping up in the auto industry. On May 10 United Auto Workers leaders took a recess in negotiations with General Motors and Ford to report back to elected delegates of workers in both companies. Their report: no progress on the union's major demand for a guaranteed annual wage and counter-proposals from the companies for 34 measures that would drastically weaken the union's position in the plants. A strike vote was ordered.

The vote was to be completed by May 23; first returns were overwhelmingly in favor of strike action if necessary. But stirring up employer resistance was Charles R. Sligh Jr., chairman of the executive committee of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, who went to Detroit to proclaim that the guaranteed annual wage as proposed by the UAW "will mean the end of America as we know it now."

OUTLOOK FOR STEEL: Next negotiations in a major industry—steel—will begin in Pittsburgh on June 7. Reversing traditional procedure, the CIO steel union will conduct talks simultaneously with all the big six in the industry; usually bargaining has been conducted first with U. S. Steel which set the pattern for other companies. Under terms of its contracts, the union can bargain this year only on wages; president David J. McDonald said the demand will be for a "substantial increase" but refused to spell out what "substantial" meant. In talks to reporters, however, he hinted that the demand may be for a whopping 20c an hour. The union will be free to strike after June 30. The companies were silent on their position, but it was expected they will be just as tough as all the others.

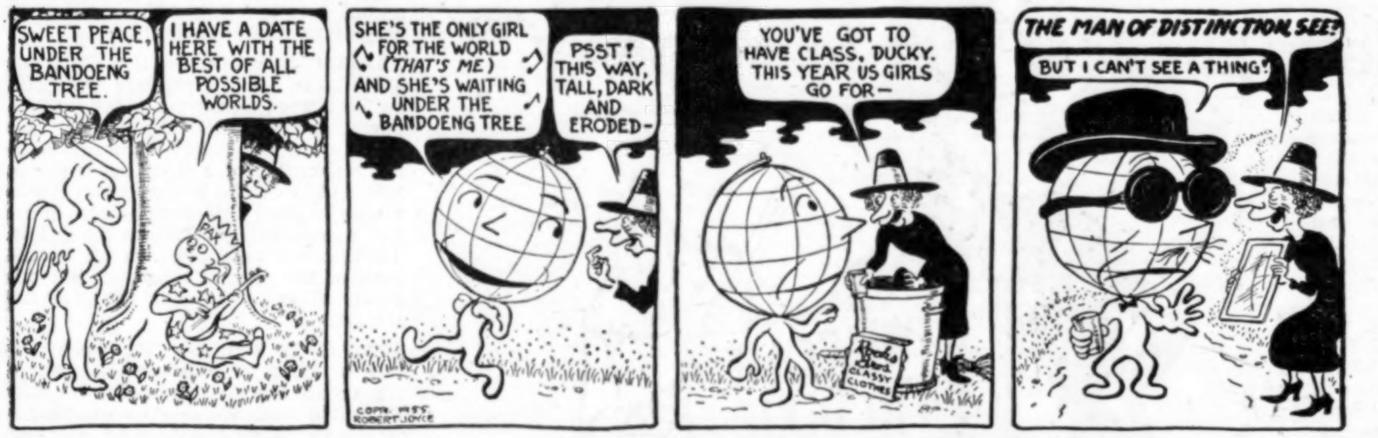
There seemed to be in existence a solid employer front directed from a single source.

We'd like to hear Nye Bevan's private comment on this concert

On April 28, wearing the ceremonial dress of a colonel of the Welsh Guards, the Duke of Edinburgh visited the Fernhill colliery in the Rhonnda Valley. He was given a big reception by the miners and pit officials. But two men were absent. One, the chairman of the Fernhill miners' lodge, said: "It was against my principles." He was dismissed by his lodge. Later the Duke changed to a white duffle coat (above) to go into the pit. The miners' chorus serenaded him in the rain with the wartime song, "We'll Keep a Welcome in the Hillside." Below the miners sang "For He's A Jolly Good Fellow." There'll always be an England—especially with an election coming up.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Man of the world


SWEET PEACE, UNDER THE BANDOENG TREE.
I HAVE A DATE HERE WITH THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS.
SHE'S THE ONLY GIRL FOR THE WORLD (THAT'S ME) AND SHE'S WAITING UNDER THE BANDOENG TREE
PSST! THIS WAY, TALL, DARK AND ERODED-
YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE CLASS, DUCKY. THIS YEAR US GIRLS GO FOR—
Rocks Bros CLASSY CLOTHES
THE MAN OF DISTINCTION, SEE?
BUT I CAN'T SEE A THING!
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The faith that frees

MAIDSTONE, SASK., CAN.

Across from me, here in my study, among the books that fill a wall, there's a well-worn book with a paper cover entitled **A Faith to Free the People**. Mr. Belfrage was writing about Claude Williams, and evidently thought of him with considerable admiration—his courage in the face of a lynching and many forms of opposition.

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J. Omar Walmsley

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United for peace

ERWIN, TENN.

I have this thought. Shouldn't our many peace organizations unite? Appeals for funds reach me from at least a half-dozen. I try to send a $5 bill. I don't know if I'm right, but it occurs to me that consolidations (at least some sort of over-all confederation?) might lessen expense and give a harder united punch. Would like to see leaders in the various national and regional peace groups express themselves in the GUARDIAN pro and con. Ernest Seeman

In Loving Memory
of
Edwin Rolfe
May 24, 1954
—Mother

NEW YORK

Niagara power grab shades Dixon-Yates

THE St. Lawrence and Niagara Rivers constitute the richest source of hydro-electric power on the Continent; but years ago the public was elbowed to the end of the line and the "water barons" are now clawing each other for first place at the water hole.

In the Board of Estimate room in New York City Hall last week, State Power Authority Chairman Robert Moses held a one-day hearing in which he revealed his plans for parceling out New York's most valuable asset. He proposed a contract granting the Aluminum Corp. of America 25% of the electric output from the St. Lawrence power project until the year 2003, with a price ceiling specially designed for ALCOA — lower than what communities would pay. There is no clause which would allow the needs of any community to take priority over ALCOA for the next 48 years.

SICK-MAKING DEAL: The ALCOA deal was denounced by the company's rivals as well as by representatives of co-operatives and the few spokesmen still clamoring for public control and distribution of the power. Robert Donovan, manager of the Delaware County Electric Corp. and spokesman for upper N. Y. State rural cooperatives, called the deal "rather sickening." He told Moses that the private utility companies "would not have the nerve to suggest such a favorable deal for themselves."

At the height of the election campaign last fall Sen. Lehman (D-N. Y.) warned that the impending give-away along the St. Lawrence and Niagara made the Dixon-Yates contract look like "small potatoes."

The American Public Power Assn., which campaigned against the Dixon-Yates contract, denounced the ALCOA scandal. It pointed out—as had the GUARDIAN (1/10/55)—that the proposed deal violated the state Public Authorities Act, which provides that "in the development of hydro-electric power . . . the project shall be considered primarily as for the benefit of the people of the state as a whole . . . sale to and use by industry shall be a secondary purpose."

FOR STATE CONTROL: In 1953 a sizeable group of Democrats in Congress led by Rep. Roosevelt and Sen. Lehman battled for Federal development of the power on TVA lines. Most Republicans and some Democrats backed proposals for a direct give-away to private interests.

Gov. Dewey and Moses then demanded state control—which all public power advocates protested was a sure road to big-business control.

In 1954 Roosevelt and Lehman joined the state-control advocates, differing from Dewey only in that they would give "preference" to municipalities and cooperatives over private companies. Dewey said at the time that Roosevelt was "attempting to crawl into bed with me."

The issue flared during last November's campaign. Sen. Langer (R-N. D) sent an aide to investigate for the Senate anti-monopoly subcommittee "charges that a new and great combine of Niagara-Mohawk and ALCOA is being created which will corner this great source of power and accelerate the growth of monopoly."

POLITICAL SLACK: Lehman wired Langer: "I have reason to believe that plans are being prepared for disposition of this vast block of public power in such a way as to prevent the State from sharing equitably in the benefits."

Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.) said he feared that even with the preference clause inserted, the public would have "to pay a tribute to the utilities in order to use this power."

Moses clearly chose the current political slack season to spring the deal. Last week the negotiations, which might have been dangerous closer to an election campaign, scarcely stirred a ripple politically.

Moses left little doubt that the State Power Authority would approve the give-away. All contracts must then be submitted to the Governor for approval or disapproval within 60 days. Gov. Harriman is not required to hold a public hearing; only public pressure can force one.

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National Union Farmer, Denver

Public power advocates are passing this card around the country in protest.

Guy B. Phillips

CHICAGO, ILL.

Two years ago my father, Guy B. Phillips, a GUARDIAN charter subscriber and liberal in the true sense of the word, passed away. On April 30, a group of his friends met in a sort of testimonial to his memory, at which $25 was raised in support of the GUARDIAN. I am enclosing a check for this amount.

Bernard J. Phillips

NO HOMES FOR DISPOSSESSED

Yorkville housing mess

Thousands of long-time Yorkville residents are being forced out of their tenement homes. These $20-to-$40-a-month flats are to be torn down to make way for luxury apartments which will rent for **$60 to $100 a room!**

Families that settled in Yorkville as long ago as 30 or 40 years must now split up and move—WHEN and IF, that is, they are fortunate enough to find a new home at a rent they can afford. In too many instances, they simply cannot find such a home.

The truly inhuman aspect of this situation is that no one to date has assumed any responsibility for finding new homes for them. This is why the American Labor Party suggests that the following things be done immediately:

1. A new law passed to make landlords responsible for finding other apartments at a similar rent for tenants whose buildings are to be destroyed.
2. The city to establish a Relocation Bureau to help find these new homes and to guarantee that landlords obey the new law.
3. A low-rent public housing project to be started in Yorkville.
4. Letters written to State Housing Commissioner Charles Abrams, 280 Broadway, urging him to press for these things.

Peter K. Hawley
Chairman, ALP

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GUARDIAN'S CALL ENDORSED

Minnesota PP asks meeting on independent 3d party

Special to the Guardian

MINNEAPOLIS

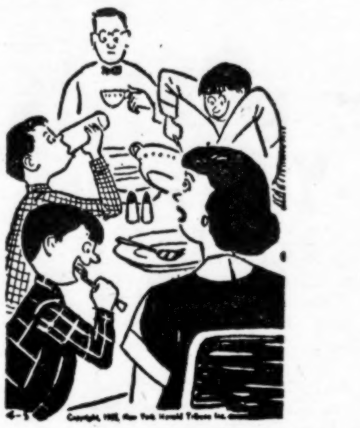
A STATE-WIDE conference of the Minnesota Progressive Party over the May 14 weekend here unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the NATIONAL GUARDIAN's call for an open caucus this fall to put a national independent party on the ballot in 1956.

Over 75 representatives of all nine Minnesota Congressional districts elected a new slate of state officers and committees after adopting special reports and resolutions on independent political action, the state legislative session recently ended, and the farm, labor, civil rights and UMT situations.

Main attention was upon the resolution which appealed "to all progressive organizations to join in indorsing the GUARDIAN's call." Chicago and Labor Day weekend were recommended as time and place for the caucus. The statement reminded those with short memories of the destruction of the mighty and independent Farmer-Labor party when it merged ten years ago with the Democratic party and since has been reduced from the most powerful organization in the state to a tool of the Humphrey machine.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE: Calling an independent campaign in 1956 an "absolute necessity," the group viewed the GUARDIAN's call as the only real alternative to present-day bi-partisan "coalitionism." They asked mutual support and co-operation from all farmer, labor and other independent groups toward a program of "peace, jobs and rights." Rejecting a socialist program for the present, the discussion centered on demands for a minimum program of progress and civil rights. The point was made that neither of the major parties has room for a program which progressives can support even on a minimum basis. Finally it was stressed that a 1956 campaign would differ from those of 1948 and 1952:

"We are no longer kidding ourselves with the illusion of a great victory or near victory in the next elections as we did in 1948, nor are we entering a protest or show ticket as we did in 1952. Our goal must be the organization and creation of a permanent basis for independent political action that will have the chance of making an impressive showing and becoming part of any larger, broader farmer-labor party that will come in the future as a final answer to our present day bi-partisanship. The only issue is whether or not we are prepared to and can do this."



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"How can they say the cost of living is steady? We spend more on food all the time."

FBI AGENT WATCHES JURY

Hugh Bryson goes on trial in Taft-Hartley oath case

FOR TEN YEARS West Coast shipowners, rival unions and the government through the Natl. Labor Relations Board sought to destroy the progressive, inter-racial Natl. Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards. By last week the union was defunct and its former president, Hugh Bryson, was on trial in San Francisco on two counts of falsely swearing to a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit in 1951.

Presiding is Judge William C. Mathes of Los Angeles, sitting as a replacement for a vacationing San Francisco judge. Mathes is known for the harsh sentences he imposed upon 14 Smith Act victims two years ago. First week of the trial was marked by his apparent hostility to defense attorneys George R. Andersen and Richard Gladstein. His restrictions on cross-examination of government witnesses caused Andersen to protest that "I feel that I have been placed in an evidential straitjacket." His motion for a mistrial was denied.

THE DIRTY DOZEN: At the opening of the trial Robert H. Schnacke, chief of the Criminal Divn. of the U.S. Attorney's office, admitted that the government has only a circumstantial case against Bryson and said the jury "wouldn't want to associate with some of" the witnesses he would call.

All of the government's witnesses testified that at some time or other since 1937 they have seen Bryson at alleged Communist Party meetings. Several of them are members of a group known on the S. F. waterfront as the "Dirty Dozen" who made a career of harassing the old MCS. One of these, William Douglas Handelsman, best known as Shanghai Abe, swore that he attended some eight "Communist Party meetings" with Bryson in 1937. The defense promptly produced Coast Guard discharges and another document proving that Bryson during that entire year was shipping off the East Coast or was in an East Coast marine hospital. The documents were not immediately allowed in evidence pending an FBI check of their validity at the demand of the prosecution.

BREAKING & ENTERING: Handelsman admitted that he was convicted of breaking and entering and assault and battery after he broke into Bryson's home at 1:30 a.m. and terrified his family in 1947. He also swore that one CP class he attended in 1937 taught "Character Assassination."

Only one of the government's first nine witnesses sought to connect Bryson with the CP in the crucial year of 1951, the date of the affidavit. Harry Whitelaw, a former MCS member, said that in July of that year during an argument with Bryson in the latter's office he asked him if he was a CP member and Bryson answered affirmatively. But defense attorney Gladstein promptly produced the records of an NLRB hearing at which Whitelaw had described this incident in great detail but had made no mention of the CP angle.

Two witnesses admitted that they had once been screened off the waterfront but had been cleared and permitted to ship after they had given statements to the FBI.

HURRY UP, BOYS: As the trial opened a man sitting at the prosecution table was ostentatiously introduced to the jury as an FBI agent; his seat is closest to the jury box and he attends all sessions. Judge Mathes himself has a little ceremony of his own: each time he enters the courtroom from his chambers he turns slowly and bows to the American flag in its stand in the corner.

The jury, composed of seven women and five men, contains no Negroes, no workers, no trade unionists.

Bryson, who was indicted on April 7, 1953, was the first top trade union leader in the country to be so charged.

As the first week of the trial ended, Judge Mathes startled the courtroom when he announced that he would entertain a motion to dismiss the charges for "want of prosecution" if government attorneys didn't hurry with their check of Bryson's 1937 shipping papers. But he rejected a motion for acquittal and the defense was ordered to open its case on May 16.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ COMING ★
IMPORTANT DEBATE ! ! !
Friday, June 3—8:30
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
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of Jerusalem; ex-Commander in
Israeli Army; Member Israeli Bar
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•
Independent:
MR. A. B. MAGIL
Newsman, covered Israel-Arab War;
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•
Questions; Refreshments
YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St.
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★ NOTE THE DATE ★

Jewish Young Folk Singers Concert at Brooklyn Academy of Music, Sat., May 21, 8:30 p.m., featuring concert version of "SANDHOG," with Earl Robinson, Waldo Salt, Pete Seeger, Louise DeCormier, Leon Bibb and orchestra. Tix: $1.15, $1.80, $2.50.

DR. HARRY F. WARD on "Which Do You Want: The Bill of Rights or An American Police State?" Wed., June 8, 8:45 p.m., True Sisters Clubhouse, 150 W. 85th St. Auspices: Religious Freedom Committee, 118 E. 28th St. Adm.: 75c.

FORUM: "EFFECTS OF RADIATION." Speaker: Miss Melba Phillips, outstanding authority. Sun., May 22, 8:30 p.m. ALP, 2688 B'way (nr. 103d St.) Contribution: 50c. Refreshments.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) May 20-22: **"THE TRIAL."** A powerful indictment of the methods used when the prosecution is bent on conviction. Directed by C. W. Pabst. Showings: 8:30 & 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"THE MOON AND SIXPENCE."**

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LETTERS TO MAYOR URGED

Attack on Teachers Union aids inform-or-else rule

WHEN the New York City Board of Education was considering its resolution requiring teachers to inform on their colleagues or face dismissal, it stirred a great protest.

The **Times** and **Post** condemned it. The **L. I. Newsday** asked: "Does New York really want teachers for its children who glory in being stool-pigeons?"

Judge Jacob Panken said: "The resolution . . . is un-American. It is more than that. It is anti-American." The N. Y. executive committee of the Board of Rabbis in its appeal to the Board of Education referred to the "long and honored ethical tradition of Judaism which condemns slander as an offense as serious as idolatry and murder and denies the informer a share even in the world to come."

A FEW LETTERS: The resolution was passed on March 17 with only one dissenting vote (Mrs. Cecile Sands). Last week the Brooklyn **Tablet**, organ of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, long-time champion of the inform-or-else rule, suggested a change to soothe the opposition: speak of "informant" instead of "informer."

In the Board's first score-sheet since the resolution Asst. Corp. Counsel Saul Moskoff reported that the resolution had forced four teachers to turn informer under threat of dismissal. Four others answered questions concerning themselves but refused to inform on others and now face Board action; 13 resigned; 17 who before the resolution had testified concerning their own political record but declined to inform, were to be recalled for questioning.

Meanwhile the protest continued. According to the Teachers Union publication **Teachers' News** (5/14) parents' associations at James Madison H. S., P. S. 206, Brooklyn, and P. S. 94, Manhattan, filed formal protest with the Board. More than a score of other parents' groups sent their messages of protest shortly after passage of the resolution.

THE TV LEAFLET: Though the city's sentiment was plain, the only organized rallying of protest came from the Teachers Union. But even that met obstacles. A TU leaflet calling for funds to fight the resolution said in one paragraph: "Public reaction against the attempt to degrade the teaching profession is overwhelming. Here is a partial list of the organizations that have expressed their opposition:" Then followed the names of 14 organizations.

The leaflet unmistakeably bore the imprint of the TU, included a coupon to be detached and mailed to the TU with money. Yet seven of the organizations listed on the leaflet promptly issued a press release, assailing the TU for the leaflet, which they said "in all probability" would give people "a false impression" that the organizations listed supported the TU appeal for funds.

TU pres. Abraham Lederman commented: "This public attack against the most active organization in the fight against the inform-or-else policy of the Board of Education by a group of organizations which themselves have also opposed this policy will undoubtedly be welcomed by those who seek to degrade the teaching profession."

WHAT YOU CAN DO: The TU campaign is continuing, its literature avoiding all praiseworthy mention of the seven organizations, calling on New Yorkers to write to Charles A. Silver, pres. of the Board of Education and Supt. of Schools William Jansen, both at 110 Livingston St., B'klyn. Silver could order the resolution reconsidered. Under the resolution Jansen is "authorized" but not obliged to put teachers under oath and force them to inform.

The TU also urged letters to Mayor Wagner at City Hall, asking him to use his influence to rescind the resolution. The union said: "Up to now the city administration has been helping to promote the witch-hunt. It was an opinion of the Corporation Counsel of the City which was used by the Board to justify its action. It is an asst. corporation counsel who carries on the questioning of teachers."

Carnegie Hall rally for Sobell

ON JUNE 16, the second anniversary of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a rally in Carnegie Hall will call for a new trial for their fellow-victim in the tragic frame-up, Morton Sobell.

Sobell is now serving his fifth year of a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz prison. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, sponsors of the conference, declared last week:

"The informers are being unmasked, and there is already evidence that at least six prosecution witnesses in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial have at one time or another committed perjury. . . . The June 16 gathering can be a milestone in our effort to establish the truth about one of the most important cases of our century."

Tickets at $1.25 are available at committee offices, 1050 Sixth Av., N. Y. 18.

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE, Editor of the GUARDIAN, was to have chaired this meeting and welcome Miss Strong upon her return to New York after an absence of six years.

On Friday, May 13, Belfrage was seized by Immigration Dept. agents and is now being held without bail for deportation, for battling Sen. McCarthy.

The press refuses to print the story of this attack on freedom of the press. We have no allies in the fight-back except YOU.

COME AND GET THE FACTS, GET IN THE FIGHT TO FREE CEDRIC BELFRAGE AND DEFEND THE GUARDIAN'S RIGHT TO PRINT THE TRUTH WITHOUT HARASSMENT BY McCARTHY, BROWNELL & CO.

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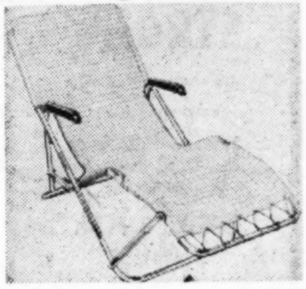

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the SPECTATOR

Not by a miracle

(This is part of an address by the pastor of Los Angeles' 1st Unitarian Church to last month's biennial convention of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. The speaker called the ILWU a "militant creator of democratic values" and its leader, Harry Bridges, a "continuation of an ancient tradition of translating Biblical ideals into bread, freedom and brotherhood.")

I HAVE LONG contended that our churches of many faiths should in sackcloth and ashes ask forgiveness from the workers of the earth and especially of this nation for the shame of thundering silence. And it has been a conspiracy of silence all too often. You know all too well the tragic divisions that have often slowed to a snail's pace the progress of labor in this country, divisions partly due to men of little vision within labor, but all too often divisions made by the silent conspiracy of churches, by ministers and laymen alike.

I say it is imperative that those I serve in the church shall know better the unfinished task awaiting your hands and ours in this mid-20th century. If the 20% of working Americans who receive but 3% of the national income are to share in their rightful opportunities for health and education and welfare, it will call for new energy and solidarity among all of us.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

DUBIOUS PROSPERITY: Together we can see that our young men and women have useful jobs in building a peacetime prosperity, rather than the dubious prosperity of making tanks and planes under the Damocles' sword of atomic war. It is for church and union alike to remember the Biblical words: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword"—and say it in Washington to our elected officials who have increased so-called security expenditures from 1⅓ billion dollars in 1939 to 43½ billion in 1954—while employment sinks and profits rise.

Dare a minister suggest that a President not so long ago in peacetime poured billions of dollars, not into armaments, but into CCC camps for youth, into public works, into highways, hospitals, housing projects—and it could be done again!

BUDGET MORALITY: I am here as an advocate of human solidarity. That great word solidarity, so written into the religious teachings of the centuries, has been a keystone in the arch of labor unity over the past 100 years. Solidarity is beginning to mean peaceful trade with our world neighbors across the seven seas; it is beginning to mean negotiation with the world powers instead of sabre-rattling and diplomatic and Congressional name-calling.

Solidarity is beginning to be a new understanding by workers, and I hope also by church members, that the U.S. government budget is a moral issue. There is inhumanity and treason to people in a budget that omits adequate appropriations for housing and flood-control, schools and hospitals for every single citizen in need. Our people cannot eat jet fighters, nor clothe their children with thermo-nuclear devices.

EFFORTS, NOT MIRACLES: The workers on every continent, including this nation, this state and this union represented here today can through new unity and resolution end the scourge of war, the cancer of unemployment, the madness of racial and creedal bigotry, the contradiction of poverty in a land of unmatched wealth and know-how. It is the task of men and women in churches, chapels and temples to uphold the hands of all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, by the expenditure of talent of hand and brain, those who create the the wealth and must therefore enjoy its fruits.

It is profoundly true that the justice spoken of in Scripture will be vindicated: those who toil shall inherit the earth. The peacemakers shall be called the sons of God. Each man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid. The lion and the lamb shall lie down together. The desert shall blossom as the rose. The dry place shall become a fertile plain. These ancient predictions across the centuries shall indeed be fulfilled, not by a miracle, but by the efforts of workers everywhere determined to have it so.

—Stephen H. Fritchman

B'KLYN ACADEMY

Folksingers' concert May 21

MARKING the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the U.S., the Jewish Young Folksingers will present their fourth annual concert Sat., May 21, 8:30 p.m., at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

Featured with the Folksingers will be guest artists Pete Seeger, Leon Bibb, Louise De Cormier and the librettist and composer of **Sandhog**, Waldo Salt and Earl Robinson. The program will include a concert version of **Sandhog.**